Do you want me to recite their names for you? They're

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your Honor.

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THE COURT: We were together -- what case was that? MR. WISHNIE: Doe v. Hagenbeck, the West Point matter,

Good afternoon, your Honor.

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THE COURT: Good afternoon.

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that harm if this case does not proceed in an expedited manner.

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MR. ALDERDICE: So we represent in this case the plaintiff, the city of Newburgh, New York, and CPD Action. both of those plaintiffs represent communities that are presently at risk of imminent harm and are likely to suffer

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by defendants, and we have identified those five actions in our In this case, I'm happy to answer any questions you have about our motion.

Now, that harm is the result of actions that are taken

THE COURT: Keep discussing it.

MR. ALDERDICE: Sure.

THE COURT: Why are you taking so long to come here?

MR. ALDERDICE: So as to that, your Honor, it's difficult to get into all of the details that lead a civil society organization like CPD Action and a local government like the city of Newburgh to bring a claim.

But I will say that at the moment, we brought this claim because they are at imminent risk of this harm, and they believe that they can obtain relief if this case proceeds in this expedited manner.

THE COURT: How should I deal with the fact that you as counsel were representing plaintiffs in the Fourth Circuit in the District of Maryland?

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MR. ALDERDICE: We don't think that that has really any effect on this case. Counsel, a national law firm like Jenner & Block and a law clinic like the Yale Law Clinic, represent different plaintiffs all the time. And these are separate plaintiffs with their own interests of avoiding this --

THE COURT: I would say there is an identity of interest between the plaintiffs here and the plaintiffs in the District of Maryland.

MR. ALDERDICE: I'm sorry, your Honor?

THE COURT: I would say that there's an identity of interest between the plaintiffs in this case and the plaintiffs in the District of Maryland.

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$ ALDERDICE: We see them as different interests between these plaintiffs.

THE COURT: What are the differences?

MR. ALDERDICE: The city of Newburgh, for example, has different interests than Prince George's County in Maryland.

In the harm that they will suffer, the city of Newburgh is one of the hardest to count areas in New York City.

THE COURT: Isn't that the same with the case in the District of Maryland? You had a concern that not everybody would be counted because people in poor areas tend not to be counted and have a poor or a poorer response ratio than people in more affluent areas.

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MR. ALDERDICE: Well, there are both different harms to the plaintiffs here in Newburgh and in the communities that CPD Action represents such as Brooklyn, New York, which is the hardest to count area in New York City. But there are also different facts, if that's what your Honor is referring to.

In this action, we seek targeted relief, certain actions in particular. One is the defendants' refusal to suspend an actual slashing of resources that are devoted to the Partnership Program and community outreach to communities like these in contravention of explicit directives from Congress.

The Fourth Circuit didn't deal with that issue, and that is an issue that we would like to move on for preliminary injunction in this case, along with the drastic and severe reductions of enumerators and the defendants cutting the number of field offices in half.

Those are the actions that we would like to seek relief on in a more targeted fashion. And that will be what we intend to bring our preliminary injunction motion on promptly. And that's what we raised in the letter with your Honor, to set a schedule for that so that can move forward and we can obtain relief.

That's also what we will seek -- we are seeking an administrative record in an expedited fashion just seeking it on those issues. We believe that while the five decisions we are targeting, we are still seeking the record on all of those,

replace in-field address canvassing with in-office address

THE COURT: You're not interested in the decision to

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believe that we can ultimately show that they are both arbitrary and capricious.

THE COURT: Without discovery?

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MR. ALDERDICE: No. We intend there still to be discovery. But as to what we will show that there is a likelihood of success on in our preliminary motion and show that we can obtain preliminary relief on, it will be narrowly tailored to those items that I identified. But as the case proceeds, we would still be able to make our case on those other ones as well.

THE COURT: And you want the administrative record.

MR. ALDERDICE: That's right, your Honor.

THE COURT: Is it your belief that there is a collection of documents that constitutes the administrative record?

MR. ALDERDICE: We do think so, your Honor. We're willing to work with the government, to the extent we can meet with the government, as we've already begun to do, to identify the relevant documents. To the extent that they have concerns about burden, we're willing to work with the government.

THE COURT: What does that mean? Will the government know what they have to produce if you just ask for the administrative record with regard to, let's say, for the plan to hire fewer enumerators than was the case for the previous census?

MR. ALDERDICE: Well, our understanding -- and the government may be in the best position to answer this, but our understanding is that those decisions were made within

THE COURT: No. The government is not shifting.

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MR. WISHNIE: Yes, your Honor. Your Honor, the last date of census operations in the field, as I understand it, is the end of August. Some parts of the three items that my colleague has identified we believe are immediately implementable. We have discussed a schedule with the government. I'm prepared to share it with you, if you'd like.

THE COURT: I would.

140askp1:194cvV-10917-AKthdeDocument 41 Filed 02/18/20 Page 14 of 28 K19YCENC

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MR. WISHNIE: We would propose — plaintiffs would propose — that plaintiffs move for a preliminary injunction by Friday of next week, January 17. Defendants would respond to the preliminary injunction motion and move to dismiss in a consolidated filing by February 7. Plaintiffs would reply on their motion for preliminary injunction and respond to the government's motion to dismiss together by February 21. And the government would reply on its motion to dismiss by February 28.

THE COURT: Can you dispense with one of the four rounds and make it three rounds so that both the government's motion to dismiss and your motion for preliminary injunction will be due January 17. All responses to both will be due February 7, and the reply will be February 21. And that will end the briefing.

MR. WISHNIE: That will be very good from plaintiffs' perspective, your Honor. Yes.

THE COURT: That's what I prefer.

If you have to make motions by January 17, when do you need expedited production by?

MR. WISHNIE: Well, we would like it as soon as possible of course. Let me be a little transparent in our thinking on this. We think we can move for preliminary injunction right now because the standard is likelihood of success and the Census Bureau has made some number of records

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THE COURT: What's your suggested date?

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the complaint was February 7. We understand if your Honor

MR. ISSACHAROFF: Our current deadline to respond to

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wants to move that up somewhat, but I think perhaps January 31

25 to file a motion to dismiss. I think the reason we had

litigated these same issues extensively.

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MR. ISSACHAROFF: That would be run through the Solicitor General's Office, but that would be my overwhelming quess as to what would happen.

THE COURT: When is the last date that there can be finality for purposes of implementing a final decree in favor of the plaintiff?

MR. ISSACHAROFF: Your Honor, I'm not in a position to state that at this moment, in part, because the nature of plaintiffs' requested relief is still somewhat nebulous.

Plaintiffs have stated that they're not intending to move for a preliminary injunction on issues related to the canvassing phase, for example. But if they were ultimately to obtain final relief as to canvassing, that would require the reopening of a process that has largely concluded at this point.

Similarly, there's a lag time for open area census offices, hiring additional enumerators, increasing partnership programs. I'm not in a position to state what the drop-dead date would be. But it is hard for me to imagine a course of this litigation that does not require your Honor to, in some sense, enjoin the census itself.

THE COURT: I wouldn't want to do that.

What you're telling me is that the schedule that you have suggested is too leisurely. I have to conduct this case so that both sides can get a decision and appeal it.

180as@h:194cv"10917-AK#deDocument 41 Filed 02/18/20 Page 18 of 28 K19YCENC

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That timetable must be practical because if the plaintiffs win, they need to have some substance to their victory. And that has to express itself in a greater number of people making counts; in a large number of field offices evaluating the counts; in having various kinds of ways of increasing participation, which is what I think the community outreach and partnership programs are intended to bring about.

MR. ISSACHAROFF: As your Honor noted at the outset -
THE COURT: I would rule against your timetable if I

can't get a clear answer.

MR. ISSACHAROFF: I don't think there is a briefing timetable that's going to allow the case to fully play out without requiring any adjustment of the schedule of the census.

THE COURT: Let's say that the motion is presented to me by March 4, and let's say that I'm able to decide by March 20.

What would happen then? Can you go directly to the United States Supreme Court as happened in Judge Furman's census decisions?

MR. ISSACHAROFF: Again, that is a decision that would have to be made by the Solicitor General's Office that I don't have the authority to make. But it's certainly possible that such an application could be made. It would also be within the discretion of the Supreme Court, of course, to allow any such expedited certiorari.

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THE COURT: It seems to me, Mr. Wishnie, that I have to deal with all aspects of the case at the same time and that production must occur sufficiently before January 31 so that you can make your motions.

MR. ISSACHAROFF: Your Honor, I would push back in two regards: First, as plaintiffs' counsel acknowledged, they do not require any additional production in order to make their motions.

In large part, that's because of the extensive material that's already available in the public record. I would note that that includes the operational plan itself --

THE COURT: Did you make any production in the District of Maryland case?

MR. ISSACHAROFF: Yes, your Honor.

THE COURT: Wouldn't the same production satisfy this case?

MR. ISSACHAROFF: That would have to be addressed through plaintiffs, but we are preparing to reproduce the same materials that were produced in the Maryland litigation.

THE COURT: Why can't I order that all production must be made by January 17?

MR. ISSACHAROFF: In part, that's because it's not clear what the administrative record would consist of. What plaintiffs' counsel stated is it's the records that the decision-maker relied on in making the decision. And here I'm

200asqn1:19vcv"10917-AKAdeDocument 41 Filed 02/18/20 Page 20 of 28 K19YCENC

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afraid it intercepts somewhat with the merits of plaintiffs' challenge.

In an ordinary case, you if were talking about, say, whether to grant a permit or deny a permit, if you were talking about an administrative adjudication of some sort, there would be a discrete, obvious agency action with a record associated with it.

I'm not saying that compiling the administrative record is easy in any case because colleagues in my office would certainly disagree, but there is a discrete agency action.

As the District of Maryland, as the Fourth Circuit unanimously noted here, there is no such discrete action.

These are not three or five or six discrete decisions. They are trying to litigate the entire operation of the 2020 census. Any decision in this case is an iterative process over years.

If I may just step back to explain how we got to this point. After the 2010 census which cost \$12.3 billion and was the most expensive on record, Congress directed the Bureau of the Census in 2011 to examine ways to make the census more cost effective and utilize modern technology.

There was then a three-year period from 2012 through 2015 in which the Census Bureau extensively tested and investigated the possibilities of utilizing modern technology and streamlining the census to achieve better results at a

reduced cost.

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In 2015, the Census Bureau released version 1.0 of its operational plan. We're now debating version 4.0 of the operational plan. So you're talking about a process that involves the entire Census Bureau or at least three, as plaintiffs suggest, three of its six directories, over a period of a decade, potentially involving a comparison to the preparations in the decision-making leading up to the 2010 census which would stretch back as far as 2000 or 2001.

THE COURT: The decision-maker would not be probably immersing himself into all the preliminary decisions that were made. He would probably rely on conclusions reached from these studies so the documents necessary would be much reduced.

MR. ISSACHAROFF: That may be the case, your Honor.

But then I would point to how much of that information is already public. There have been operational plans and detailed operational plans --

THE COURT: It's all made public. It's easy for you. So that's not a good excuse.

MR. ISSACHAROFF: Yes, but what I'm pointing out, your Honor, is that the material necessary to litigate at least the preliminary relief sought here is already available to plaintiffs as they acknowledge.

I would also point out that plaintiffs obtained over -- I'm sorry. The Yale Law School clinic obtained over

220asleph: 1944/19517-AKAdeDocument 41 Filed 02/18/20 Page 22 of 28 K19YCENC

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17,000 pages from the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of the Census in FOIA litigation that covers many of the same questions at issue here. There is congressional testimony; IG reports; periodic program management reviews; monthly status reports; dozens of memoranda, 30 in 2019 alone.

To say that there is an administrative record that we can easily identify and produce in a period of three weeks, as your Honor may be contemplating, assumes that there is a decision, there is unagency action that is under review here. That's not the case. There is a comprehensive set of decisions in terms of how to implement and manage --

> THE COURT: How do you deal with that, Mr. Wishnie? MR. WISHNIE: Thank you, your Honor.

First of all, if the government would stipulate that the administrative record for APA purposes is the public records plus what was produced in Maryland which they would reproduce to the plaintiffs here, of course we would accept that.

If what they're saying is that there are other records that the decision-maker relied on on these three discrete actions, apart from what is public and already produced in Maryland, then that is what we would seek. I disagree very much with the kind of it's really hard and it's really complex story here.

Taking just the first, the plan to reduce the

230aseph:194cv"-16917-AKAdeDocument 41 Filed 02/18/20 Page 23 of 28 K19YCENC

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enumerators from about 600,000 in 2010 to 400,000 this time around, despite a larger population, and the Bureau's own studies showing greater distrust of government now than last time around — someone made that decision. They made it fairly recently.

They didn't make that decision in 2001. And that person relied on briefing from an adviser, a study, recommendation from the agency. That's the administrative record. We think that it's appropriate.

I take your Honor's point that rather than the plan I arrived here with, which was a preliminary injunction schedule and then a later schedule to take care of everything else in the case, I understand your Honor's instinct to try to do it all now and get it done for the reasons you said.

THE COURT: Otherwise, this will stretch out too far and there won't be a good record for appeal. No one's going to rest with my decision. There's going to be another decision after this.

Supposing the government identifies the decision-maker and produces all the documents that influenced the decision of the decision-maker.

Wouldn't that satisfy your needs?

MR. WISHNIE: Yes, your Honor.

THE COURT: Can you do that, Mr. Issacharoff?

MR. ISSACHAROFF: I would have to confer with the

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Bureau of the Census and the Commerce Department.

THE COURT: I'm going to make a ruling now. You better tell me.

MR. ISSACHAROFF: I think it would be exceedingly difficult, given the breadth of the decisions at issue here and given that they are not classic APA discrete agency actions.

Your Honor, if I may reiterate. I don't think plaintiffs have responded to the question about whether it's realistic to think that there could be any outcome to this litigation that would not require moderating the schedule of the 2020 census.

If your Honor were to rule the day after briefing is completed, whether on February 21 as plaintiffs had proposed or March 4 as I had suggested, you would be talking about, if your Honor granted the motion, potentially an order that would say something along the lines of the Bureau of the Census must open 52 additional area offices and hire 200,000 additional enumerators to conduct the census.

That can't happen in a month by the start of the April 1 census, not to mention the partnership programs, additional canvassing, if that were part of it, or anything else.

MR. WISHNIE: Your Honor, if I may, just on the first point still, the enumerators as illustrative. That is not a fair characterization of the relief sought.

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The Bureau is in the process of hiring 400,000 enumerators, door knockers, who follow up when people don't respond. But they have said they will rely actually on only about 250,000 of those 400,000 they call core enumerators.

The relief on our first point would simply be the other 150,000 people who you've hired into federal employment -- you've interviewed them. You've screened them. You've hired them. But you do not plan to deploy them because you plan to rely on only 250,000 of the 400,000. Use the other people.

Where's the money? It's sitting in your piggy bank because we're talking here in this case exclusively about the expenditure of funds that have already been appropriated by Congress that are sitting unspent with the Commerce Department.

So the relief on the enumerators is easy. Deploy the people you've already hired with the money Congress has already appropriated, full stop. That doesn't require postponing the entire 2020 census or reopening operations from last year. To the contrary. It simply says use the people you've already hired with the money Congress has already given you.

MR. ISSACHAROFF: If I may briefly respond, your Honor.

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. ISSACHAROFF: If I may quote the Fourth Circuit's opinion in the NAACP litigation: "Contrary to their position

26Casep1:4940V-109117-AKA-deDocument 41 Filed 02/18/20 Page 26 of 28 K19YCENC

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on appeal, the plaintiffs do not actually challenge multiple discrete decisions made by the Census Bureau.

"Instead, as pleaded, the various design choices being challenged expressly are tied to one another. Setting aside one or more of these choices necessarily would impact the efficacy of the others and inevitably would lead to Court involvement and hands-on management of the Census Bureau's operations. This is precisely the result that the discreteness requirement of the APA is designed to avoid.

"For these reasons, we hold that the plaintiffs have failed to identify any final agency actions subject to judicial review under the APA."

We're talking about litigation that could have been brought either on January 1 of 2019 or on February 2 of 2019 that plaintiff sat on for ten months while the plaintiffs' counsel were pursuing other parallel litigation; that now on the eve of the census, they want this Court to instruct the Census Bureau, in an incredibly detailed way, as to how to carry out a census that is effectively in operation and set to begin its full active enumeration phase on April 1. This is not what the APA is for, your Honor.

THE COURT: I am not in a position at this point to make any rulings with regard to your comments. But I am in a position to make a ruling that plaintiff is entitled to advance their cases to the point where I can make such a ruling.

that was appropriate on the constitutional claim and not on the

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APA claim.

28Caseph: 1940 Page 28 of 28 K19YCENC

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I wonder whether your Honor would permit a 30(b)(6) deposition on these five decisions.

THE COURT: I don't think there's time. I don't think there's time. If I have to make a decision on dismissal and preliminary injunction by March 20, the schedule does not permit depositions before then. Then we'll see where we go from there.

But if I issue a preliminary injunction which you want, Mr. Issacharoff is going to appeal. Whether to the Second Circuit or the Supreme Court, I don't know. We can continue with other parts of the case after that. But I'll have to make that decision on March 20.

MR. WISHNIE: Thank you, your Honor.

THE COURT: Anything further?

MR. ISSACHAROFF: Nothing further, your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you.

MR. WISHNIE: Your Honor, to clarify the very first exchange we had, your Honor.

Is the Court prepared to make an order on the students' appearances? Or is that still something you're thinking about?

THE COURT: You made a motion.

MR. WISHNIE: Yes.

THE COURT: I granted it.

MR. WISHNIE: Thank you, your Honor.